

Message Text

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S E C R E T ABIDJAN 6572

NODIS CHEROKEE

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS-1
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: DRAFT MESSAGE TO VORSTER

1. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE END OF MY TRIP
AND YOUR CONSULTATIONS WITH BRITISH WE SHOULD SEND A
MESSAGE TO VORSTER. AMBASSADOR BOWDLER, WHOM I SAW IN
GABARONE ONRE#NOTED THAT SAG FOREIGN MINISTRY IS
GETTING INCREASINGLY EDGY ALTHOUGH VORSTER, WHO IS STILL ON
VACATION, IS PROBABLY MORE
RELAXED. FOLLOWING IS POSSIBLE DRAFT WHICH I BELIEVE TAKES
INTO ACCOUNT THE TACTICAL
APPROACH WE WILL HAVE TO TAKE. PERHAPS WIN LORD COULD DRAFT
ANYTHING FURTHER WE MAY WISH TO SAY ABOUT YOUR
TALKS WITH THE BRITISH.

BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE
ON HIS RECENT TRIP THROUGH AFRICA CONSULTED WITH PRESIDENTS
KAUNDA, NYERERE, KHAMA, MOBUTU,
HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AND SENGHOR. HE ALSO SAW MR. NKOMO IN
LUSAKA. ON BASIS OUR OWN ANALYSIS AND NYERERE'S ADVICE HE DID
NOT SEE PRESIDENT MACHEL.

THE NET IMPRESSION WE HAVE GAINED IS THAT THERE ARE VARYING
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DEGREES OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE COURSE ON WHICH WE HAVE

EMBARKED. REGARDING NAMIBIA, PERHAPS AS YOU WOULD EXPECT, THERE IS A GENERAL FEELING THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD SOLVE THIS QUESTION EASILY IF YOU WISHED. SWAPO, DESPITE SOME CONTRARY REPORTS, IS STILL INTRANSIGENT ABOUT CONDITIONS IT WISHES TO SEE MET BEFORE PARTICIPATING IN NEGOTIATIONS. THEY INCLUDE THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, DIRECT TALKS WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD BE JOINED BY OTHER PARTICIPANTS AS PART OF YOUR DELEGATION, AND WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. AS DIFFICULT AS IT WOULD BE, I BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE BLACK AFRICAN STATES TO EXERT THE NECESSARY PRESSURE ON SWAPO, IF THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT YOU WILL AGREE TO A CHANGE OF VENUE, THE PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO AND A FIRM--AND PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED-- DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THESE LEADERS TO ENDORSE THE PROCESS THAT WE HAVE SUGGESTED FOR SEVERAL REASONS:

- 1) THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SMITH WHO, THEY ARE CONVINCED, WILL NEVER YIELD AND WITH WHOM THERE IS NO CHANCE TO NEGOTIATE AN ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT;
- 2) SERIOUS DOUBT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL EXERT SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON SMITH EITHER BECAUSE YOU WILL NOT OR, DUE TO DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS, CANNOT;
- 3) THE BELIEF OF SOME THAT MORE ARMED PRESSURE MUST BE EXERTED TO CREATE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS AT A LATER STAGE;
- 4) THE CONTINUING DIVISION AMONG NATIONALIST LEADERS. DESPITE THE DIFFICULTY THAT WE FORESEE IN MOVING THE AFRICANS ON BOTH OF THE ISSUES I HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WE MUST PURSUE THIS COURSE. WE FOUND THAT THERE WAS GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDEA THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS, HOWEVER SCEPTICAL SOME MAY FEEL ABOUT THE CHANCES FOR SUCCESS.

ONE THING HAS EMERGED CLEARLY, THE AFRICANS BELIEVE THAT IF YOU ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO MOVE ON ANYTHING, PROGRESS CAN
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BE MADE ON NAMIBIA FASTER THAN ON RHODESIA AND THAT SUCH PROGRESS WOULD PERHAPS FACILITATE AND ACCELERATE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON THIS PARTICULAR POINT.

I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT, IF WE MOVE RAPIDLY, IF THERE IS NO PREMATURE ACTION ON ANYONE'S PART, IF WE MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY,

IF WE CAN CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH BOTH YOUR
GOVERNMENT AND THE AFRICAN STATES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED, AND IF THE

PARTICIPANTS ARE NOT HAMPERED BY THE RIGIDITY OF
PREVIOUS POSITIONS, WE STAND A GOOD CHANCE OF ACHIEVING THE
AIMS WE ALL SEEK.

I WOULD THEREFORE PROPOSE, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THAT THE UNITED
STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, WITH APPROPRIATE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER
EUROPEAN NATIONS, PUT TOGETHER THE DETAILS
OF A PACKAGE WHICH ALLOWS FOR FLEXIBILITY AND TAKES ACCOUNT
OF THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION. WE WOULD THEN DISCUSS IT
DIRECTLY WITH YOU AND WITH THE AFRICAN STATES TOWARD THE END OF THE
MONTH.

I WOULD WELCOME YOUR VIEWS AND ANY FURTHER INSIGHTS ON HOW
YOU SEE THINGS DEVELOPING IN THE LIGHT OF OUR CONVERSATIONS
IN GERMANY AND OF SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. SMITH

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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